

T H E
MANAGEMENT

1103.a.2.

OF THE

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Four last Years

VINDICATED:

In which Her late MAJESTY,
and Her MINISTRY, are fully clear-
ed from the false Aspersions cast on
them in a late Pamphlet, Entituled;

*An Enquiry into the Miscarriages of the Four
last Years Reign, &c. And the Malice of the
Faction in that, and other late Libels, is
expos'd.*

K. B. C.

Recommended to all true *Englishmen*,
against the next Election of a New
Parliament.

*Whilst Honesty is still the same,
Whether it win, or lose the Game;
True as the Dial to the Sun,
Altho' it be not shin'd upon.* Hudib.

Sold by J. Morphew near Stationers Hall, 1714.

(Price Six-pence.)

THE
MANAGEMENT
W. Musgrave.



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T H E
MANAGEMENT
O F T H E
Four last Years

V I N D I C A T E D, &c.

To the Honest *Freeholders* and *Vo-*
ters of GREAT BRITAIN.

GENTLEMEN,



T is now Time to break
Silence; the *Whigs* have
had a fair Field, a long
Run, to set their Case
in the best Light possible:
They have been heard
without Interruption; have had all the
Indulgence Men could reasonably wish,
as well in the Liberty, as in the Exercise
of their Prerogative in Scribling; and
it must be confessed, the short Space
A 2 of

of Time since their Resumption, has been very productive that Way: Swarms of Pamphlets and Libels have issued from the Press, which have made a very tunable Cry in the Ears of the Party. We have heard them with Patience, and, I hope, we shall be allowed to speak in our Turn; though it is a very difficult Matter to break in upon them.

The most sacred Things have not escaped them: The Ashes of Her late Majesty, of ever blessed Memory, have been trampled on with Indecency; the Clergy have been treated in a most vile and contemptible Manner; Men of the highest Dignity, in their Character and Station, Patriots of our Laws, Religion, and Liberties, have been swept among the common Lumber of Mankind; and the most opprobrious Names given them, such as the lowest Order of Men, even the meanest Miscreants, would hardly brook. But I shall have too many of these things fall in my Way hereafter; I will therefore shorten the needless Repetition of them here, and, from the many Pieces of that Kind, single out one that shall be the Test for all, as it has a Right to vie with the blackest Libel

bel of their whole Legend : And that it may not fall short in any Quality, I will undertake it shall bespeak as little good Sense, true Argument, or indeed any Argument at all, as any of the vilest they can produce.

This celebrated Book is called ; *An Enquiry into the Miscarriages of the last Four Years ; wherein it appears, That a Scheme was laid to raise the Grandeur of France and Spain ; break the Confederacy ; make a separate Peace ; destroy the Establish'd Church ; sink the Trade of the Nation ; betray the Queen ; and bring in the Pretender, &c.*

These Heads are couched in 65 Articles, scarce one of which has Weight enough to turn the lightest Feather of a Goose Wing, whence they owe their Original, directed by the profligate Hand of a criminal Projector, and reputed Madman. The World is so civil as generally to allow the Author that Character ; tho' I believe it only the Whim of the Party, to give Sanction to his Works, and to acquit themselves of the Scandal of Fathering so notorious a Piece.

It was long before it fell into my Hands, and longer before I was guilty of the least Thought of giving it any Answer. But seeing it obtained so in
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the World, by the great Drifts of them that were daily dispersed through the Country, to influence Elections; and with the impudent Front of being addressed to the Freeholders of *Britain*; I confess, in Justice to my Country, it altered my Sentiments of it wonderfully; and made me think it, if not worthy, yet at least necessary to be answered.

To you therefore, who are the honest *Freeholders* and *Voters* of *Great Britain*, this is Addressed: You are the People aim'd at, the Men design'd to be seduc'd by such Practices. Methinks it should raise Ardour in your Breasts, should inspire you with Indignity, to be so poorly dealt with, as to be taught to give your Vote: Is not your honest Choice sufficient, without being brought in Leading-strings to vote? Have you not Consciences; and should they not *be void of Offence*? As you are too honest, shew them you are too wise to be imposed on. You are capable, by your Scituations, to inform your selves in the Characters of Men; You cannot be ignorant, if you would, who are proper to be chose: Your Interest, your Safety, your Religion, will dictate to you, they are to be such as have been eminent

ment for their disinterested Services; who have particularly acted with regard to the *Church*, the *Peace*, and the *Trade* of these Kingdoms.

I am sensible, this were enough to warn every honest, unprejudic'd Man; and all that might be said farther would be needless, under a true State of Liberty; but there are Mists rais'd to be cast before your Eyes; you will be courted into Dependency, at which the honestest Natures will be apt to thaw: You will have Power on the one Side, and Promises on the other, two strenuous Advocates; and there is only one Argument to save you from the Temptation; that is, *The Interest and Liberties of your Country duly considered*. These are those Loyal Sentiments that inspir'd your honest Ancestors; these were the Springs from whence we derived our Liberties; these were the Motives by which we supported them: Keep to their Integrity, and not shame the Ashes of your dead Predecessors, by following the false Advice of your living Adversaries.

It is possible the foregoing *Pamphlet* will escape the Hands of many among you, notwithstanding the great Diligence used by the Party, to disperse them

them in such Numbers. Give me Leave therefore, dear Countrymen and Friends, to set before you, in the most impartial Light possible, a brief Recital of the Transactions of the last four Years, commencing from the Time Her late Majesty saw good to change Her M-y, which, I presume, is his Meaning; and it may serve as a Landmark, as well for those who have read that notable Piece, as those who have not.

Is there a Man, that can call himself a *Britain*, and will hear his late Sovereign aspersed? She from whom nothing but what was Good could proceed: Her Virtue, Her Piety, and other excellent Accomplishments, are Evidences of it; nay, had She not been so superlatively Good, She could not so easily have err'd in the most remarkable Lenity and Indulgence, that, perhaps, was ever shewn by any Sovereign to Her ungrateful Subjects.

It is a receiv'd Maxim, That "Kings
 " are the common Fathers of their
 " Country; and that 'tis below their
 " High Dignity, to be Kings of no more
 " than one Half of their People; Which
 " at last becomes the Case of Princes,
 " that bestow all their Favours on some
 " Persons only; whereas their Royal
 " and

" and Paternal Care should extend to
 " all their Subjects : For as it frequent-
 " ly happens in a private Family, the
 " fond Partiality of Parents to one
 " Child, begets Emulation and Hatred
 " among the rest ; so in a Nation, to
 " see a Sett of Men engross all Places
 " of Power and Profit, and enrich
 " themselves at the Expence of the Na-
 " tion, it cannot but raise the Envy of
 " a free People, who have nothing
 " more at Heart, than the Glory of the
 " Sovereign ; and are never more of-
 " fended, than when they think him
 " abridged by those about him, in the
 " free Exercise of his Regal Authority.

I take Leave to repeat this to you, as
 the general Sense of Her late Majesty's
 Condition, when She found Herself ob-
 lig'd, or, if you will, thought good to
 change Her M——y. You have heard,
 no doubt, that the good Queen was
 not only perpetually teiz'd with Impor-
 tunities, but *driven to private Recesses*
from Her own Palace, to be free from their
Arrogance. It was Time then, you will
 say, upon these, and other repeated In-
 solencies, for Her Majesty to exert Her
 self, and throw off the Yoke they
 endeavour'd to restrain Her with, and
 cramp the Prerogative.

I should not forget the Anger the Party had drawn on them, by the violent Prosecution of a Son of the National Church; for the Queen, who had before made some Discovery of their Temper, having been present at this solemn Trial, drew a melancholy Reflexion from the Warmth of those who manag'd the Prosecution; whilst, on the other Hand, the Churchmen, who defended the *Doctor* with great Loyalty and Duty, asserted the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, and, with great Humility and Zeal, maintain'd the sound Doctrine of the Church of *England*; Her Majesty, from Her own pious Sentiments, could not but entertain very favourable ones of that Party.

You cannot but remember, how this Attempt on the Establish'd Religion, by the trying and sentencing one of its Sons, put the true Churchmen in a just Consternation: And the better Sort, the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, substantial Freeholders, and good Citizens, made Loyal Addresses to the Queen, expressing their Dislike of that Trial, disclaiming all Principles inconsistent with Her Prerogative; many of them expressing a liking to have the

the Parliament dissolved. Hence followed a Change in the M——y, and a Dissolution of that Parliament soon after.

What I write, is well known to most of you: You set your Hands, and, I fancy, your Hearts to these Articles. Writs were issued soon after, for a new Parliament, to meet the 25th of November following (1710.) The Sense of the whole Kingdom was soon declared in the Choice of Representatives; a Majority so great on the Church Side was hardly to be expected; and the Hopes of the good Event of it hardly to be exceeded. The Parliament met at the Time appointed; and a general Face of Joy appeared throughout the whole Kingdom. Give me Leave to insert a small Part of Her Majesty's Speech to Her new Parliament, to shew there was no Design at this Time, to abandon our Allies, raise the Grandeur of France and Spain, or bring in the Pretender.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Have, by calling this Parliament, made appear the Confidence I place in the Duty and Affection of my Subjects; and I meet you here with the greatest Satisfaction; having no Reason to doubt, but that I shall find such Returns as will add new Life to

our Friends, and entirely disappoint the Hopes of our Enemies.

To this End, I shall recommend to you what is absolutely necessary for our common Safety.

The carrying on the War in all its Parts, but particularly in Spain, with the utmost Vigour, is the likeliest Means, with God's Blessing, to procure a safe and honourable Peace for Us, and all our Allies, whose Support and Interest I have truly at Heart.

To shew that Her Majesty was then really in Earnest to carry on the War, and to keep the *Whigs* from clamouring, the Duke of *Marlborough* was sent again to command the Army; the Supplies for the Summer Service were as readily voted, as in other Years: Here was a whole Campaign wasted, by the Emperor's withdrawing his Troops just on the Time of Action, in taking a single Town, not much bigger than a Pidgeon-House, while Affairs in *Catalonia* were reduced to a desperate State.

These Discouragements Her Majesty bore with Patience, and resolved yet to see what Efforts the Allies would make, and to join with them, to hasten the Conclusion of the War.

This

This Parliament you then returned, unluckily fell into an Enquiry after the Mismanagements that had crept into the Administration. And first, in relation to the War in Spain, where they discovered great Negligence, and the Profusion of vast Sums of Money given by Parliament. Which Miscarriages, say the Lords and Commons, in their Representation to the Queen, are justly to be imputed to those, who had the Management of Affairs here.

They likewise discovered and represented, That an unequal Burden had been laid on us, in respect to the War in Flanders and Portugal; and that we had been clogg'd with a great Disproportion, to our Prejudice, in our Naval Quota's.

They discovered many notorious * Em- * See the bezzlements, and scandalous Abuses, in the Journals of Victualling of the Queen's Navy; to the Parliament defrauding the Publick, and Injury of the at that Time. Seamen.

They pinch'd the Whigs yet closer, by resolving, That the taking several Sums *vid. ibid.* of Money from the Contractors for furnishing Bread and Bread-Waggons, for the Army in Flanders, was unwarrantable and illegal: And that the Two and a Half per Cent. deducted from the Foreign Troops in Her

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Her Majesty's Pay, was Publick Money; and ought to have been accounted for, which it never was; but made a grand Perquisite to enrich the General.

Which Resolutions being laid before Her Majesty, She made the following Answer: *I have a great Regard for whatever is laid before me by my Commons; I will do my Part to redress what you complain of.*

Accordingly their Favourite D—— was order'd to be prosecuted in the *Exchequer*; but he wisely thought fit to withdraw himself out of the Kingdom: The mighty Spirit could not stand this intrepid Shock.

■ See the
Commons
Representa-
tion.

Another Thing discovered by this Parliament of yours was, * *That the Sums arising from the many Conquer'd Places, had not been duly applied to the Service of the War, as they ought, in Justice, to have been; but converted to the Profit of them, for whom they were conquered: That a Treaty of Barrier had been concerted with the D——h, disadvantageous to the Trade of the Subjects of Great Britain; and therefore humbly desir'd the Queen to take Care to redress Her People.*

Representa-
tion.

It was this Parliament which shew'd the Queen, *That the many Millions given, with Intent to shorten the War, had been*
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the only Cause of its Continuance ; since those to whom the Profits of it accrued, did not care to relinquish that which brought them in so rich a Harvest from Great Britain.

In fine, It was this Parliament that acquiesc'd with the Queen, in putting an End to a chargeable War ; when those who delighted in it, would have kept the Burden still upon the impoverish'd People.

These were some of the Schemes the Author of the *Miscarriages* asserts, were laid to raise the *Grandeur of France and Spain*. I know, GENTLEMEN, you have Honesty enough to judge Rightly of these things : I will therefore shew you, that the Queen did not break the *Confederacy*, make a *separate Peace*, nor intend any such thing ; but was merely necessitated, by the *Conduct of the Allies*, and of the *Whigs*, to enter upon *Terms of Peace*. I must beg your Patience therefore, if I am somewhat long in going through these two specious Articles ; because I have Reason to suppose, they will clamour against honest Gentlemen, as an *Invective* at their Elections, in order to prevent their being chose again to represent you in Parliament. You will reflect, what Reasons

sons you have to repent your Choice; and I promise to make use of no Arguments but the clearest Matters of Fact, to set you right, in respect to the Notions you may be apt to conceive of these Matters.

You will easily remember, that, during the Course of the last War, there had been Treaties set on Foot for effecting a General Peace; the one at the *Hague*, the other at *Gertrudenberg*; in the Years 1709-10, in the latter of which, the *French* conceived themselves to be too haughtily and arrogantly treated by the *D—h*; whether true or no, I pretend not to say, nor is it much to the Purpose: But this the *French* King, after another Campaign, laid hold of as a Pretence to apply himself to *Great Britain*, to see what Effect his Offers might have on that Side, for effecting a general Peace.

PEACE, Gentlemen, was a blessed Word at this Time; you who bore the Burden of the Taxes, are as well able to judge as any Men, how sweetly it sounded in the Ears of an *Englishman*, and how readily we ought then to embrace it, on any reasonable Terms. In the Month of *April* 1711, the Queen received a Proposal from *France* of this kind.

kind; Nothing would have been more contrary to the Usage of War, or the Clemency of Conquerors, than to refuse the Offers of a supplicating Enemy. These therefore the Queen receiv'd, not with Intent to keep them from Her Allies, but in Hopes they might produce some happy Event, in giving Peace to Europe; the Honour of which could not but be some Satisfaction to Her, if it were effected under Her Umbrage.

I shall go no further in Remarks: The Queen, with a great deal of Pleasure, immediately communicated these to the D——h, assuring them, *That in making Peace, as in making War, She would always act in perfect Concert with them.* The States, in return to this, expressed their Thanks for it, and seemed heartily desirous of Peace, and ready to enter in any Method with the Queen to obtain it.

At the same Time they very friendly gave their Opinion, *That the Overture was too general; and it was necessary the Queen should oblige the French to explain themselves more particularly.* The Queen comply'd with this, and forthwith insisted, *That the French should be more direct and particular in their Overtures.*

This the Queen immediately did, and

the utmost Diligence was us'd in pushing this Negotiation forward, as you see, in close Concert with the D——h, and not separately, nor with any indirect View; and the strictest Care taken, according to the Desire of the Ministers in *Holland*, whom the Queen had consulted, to preserve the Secret.

But by the slow Method of Treating, which, in these Cases, is unavoidable, it was the latter End of *September* before more explanatory Articles could be obtain'd from *France*. What did the Queen then do? It was only four Days before the Earl of *Strafford* was order'd to repair, with all Diligence, to *Holland*, to acquaint the States with what had been done; to communicate to them the Propositions; and to assure them, that the Queen was wholly determined to accept of no Advantages to Her self, contrary to their Interests, nor unless they had all imaginable Satisfaction, in respect to their Barrier, their Trade, &c. and likewise to exhort them to join with Her Majesty, in promoting the *Strictest UNION* among all the Confederates, as the means to make the Negotiation successful: The same Assurances being given to all the Allies.

Before

Before these Orders could be executed, the whole Confederacy was industriously alarmed. Jealousies were every where sown, and the most licentious Clamours rais'd at Home against the Queen's Proceedings; wherein the Party diligently exerted themselves, and at the same time that they were for overthrowing the Methods of Peace, were, underhand, busy in destroying the very Properties of carrying on the War, by cramping Supplies, and running down publick Credit.

The real Annual Expence of the Kingdom, amounted to more than *Seven Millions*; whereas, it is certain, we were not in a Condition to raise near *Six Millions* in the Course of a Year; so that had the War been continu'd under the same Disproportion we had acted for some Time, about *Nine Millions* would have been the true Charge of a second Year, and about *Eleven Millions* that of a third.

On this Head, the Queen found Her self oblig'd to declare to the *Imperialists*, and the *D——h*, That if they would not allow of carrying on the Treaty for Peace, but were desirous to continue the War, She was resolv'd to comply with them; but that, in Justice to Her
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self,

self, and them, She was to let them know, that She could no longer bear so disproportionate a Burthen as She had hitherto done, or that the requisite Efforts would still encrease. But to this there was no Answer, but the Excuses of Inability: Nor could even the D—*h* be got to gratify a Project of the D. of * *M——h*, for leaving a Body of Horse all the Winter on the Frontiers of the *Low Countries*; by which means great Advantages would have accrued to the common Cause.

* See the
News at
that Time.

The Imperial Ministers confessed very freely, that their Master expected the Queen should furnish all the Money; and that the utmost he could do, was to send Troops at Her Expence: Yet avowing to break off the Negotiation of Peace, and continue the War till the whole *Spanish* Monarchy was conquered.

I need not tell you, *Gentlemen*, how kind, how generous the good Queen had been to their Master; had lent him Her Fleet, Her Troops, Her Treasure, to support him. You remember how the Empire was freed from inevitable Ruin by Her Arms. But I will refresh your Minds with another Instance of Her Goodness to the present

E—*r*,

E——r, and of Her Affection and strict Adherence to Her Confederates, in promoting the true Interest of the Alliance, preferable to all Engagements whatever. On the Death of his Brother, the late Emperor *Joseph*, who died much about the Time that these Negotiations were first in Dispute: The *French* Emissaries every where gave out, that the Election would be contested, perhaps, in Favour of the Elector of *Bavaria*. And what might make this seem feasible, the present E——r was then in *Spain*, and the *French* ready to pour into *Germany* a numerous Army to influence the Affair. Her Majesty did not here swerve from Her former Goodness; She espous'd his Interest, engag'd the D——h, and all others whom She had the least Power with, to do the same; and it will not be deny'd, but that Her Assistance here was a very great Point carry'd in his Favour, and He was Elected Emperor thereon.

Now as to the Event, it is but reasonable to think, that this must cause a great Alteration in the Councils of *Europe*, and give a new Turn to the Sentiments of many Princes: For though we had fought to make an Arch-Duke of *Austria*, King of *Spain*, we had not en-

engag'd to procure that Dominion for an Emperor of *Germany*: And this seems to have been so little the Design, that his Father and elder Brother had been oblig'd to relinquish their Rights, before the Treaty for sending him to *Spain* was ratify'd : Otherwise the Supposition will naturally turn this Way, that the late Emperor might as well have been sent as his younger Brother.

There was Reason to believe, that the Court of *Vienna* themselves began to cool in the Project of recovering *Spain* and the *Indies* ; if not, some of the Princes of the Empire thought it a Matter worth considering, whether they should suffer the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Crowns to be united. In *Holland*, a Partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy seem'd almost the general Scheme ; and that the Project of driving out King *Philip*, was look'd on there as a meer Chimera : Though all the Cry by the *Whigs* at Home was, *Spain and the Indies*. Very well might the good Queen tell Her Parliament, who Address'd on this Subject ; *That She was sorry any one could think, She would not do Her Endeavour to wrest the Spanish Monarchy out of the Hands of the House of Bourbon* ; meaning, if it had been practicable.

Here,

Here, *Gentlemen*, you see your injur'd Queen vindicated from the scandalous Imputation of *deserting Her Allies*, and *breaking the Confederacy*. It may be proper for me to refresh your Memories likewise, that all the powerful Reasons beforementioned, had not any Weight to alter the Sentiments of those, whose Interest it was to carry on the War; and it is with some Pleasure that I tell you, they found their Error in that Resolution; and that they were, in the End, oblig'd to come into Her Majesty's Measures; the Emperor excepted. Those among the *D—h*, who had been the most sanguine for carrying on the War, began to cool in their Sentiments; and declar'd, in their Letter to Her Majesty, "That they
 " were now resolv'd to join with Her,
 " to enter into the Measures She had
 " taken for Peace, and to conclude, and
 " sign it jointly, and at the same Time
 " with Her. And also to enter into
 " new Engagements with Her about
 " the Succession and Barrier; to make
 " a new Treaty of it, and to conclude
 " and sign it before the Peace." Here that excellent Princess, the late Queen, was flooded with Joy; Her tender Sentiments to Her own People, and Her
 Con-

Concern, in general, for the Good of Europe, and preventing the further Effusion of Christian Blood, made Her hope, that the Misfortunes which had been occasion'd by the former Disunion of the Allies, would now, in a great Measure, be prevented; and the Answer She made them in one of the Columns of Her Letter, expresses another Sense than what is suggested by the abovemention'd Author, that She deserted Her Allies, and broke the Confederacy. I cannot forbear giving you the Words, there being somewhat of that peculiar Goodness always abounding in Her.

“ On our Part, we desire you firmly
 “ to be perswaded, That we have ever
 “ in our Eye the Example and wise
 “ Conduct of that Great QUEEN, our
 “ Predecessor, who contributed so much
 “ to the Support of your Common-
 “ wealth, at the Time when your brave
 “ Ancestors laid the first Foundation of
 “ it; and that we look upon it as one
 “ of the greatest Glories of our Reign,
 “ that we have not only imitated, but
 “ even surpassed whatever that Princess
 “ did for the Establishment of your
 “ State, and the Increase of your Power.
 “ This is also what We shall continue

“ to

" to do : We shall take your Interest
 " to Heart equally with our own ; and
 " We shall be ready to do all that lies
 " in our Power to advance you ; being
 " sorry that *We are not in a Condition*
 " to support both yours, and those of
 " our common Allies, as effectually as
 " We could have done, the last Spring.

This does not run in the Strain of
 One betraying the Confederacy, selling
 Her Allies, and other malicious Inve-
 ctives thrown on Her. You see it plain,
 She was necessitated to make Peace;
 and a better might have been made,
 but for Distrusts Abroad, and insolent
 Clamours rais'd by the Party at Home.

I think this is sufficient to clear the
 Queen, and Her Parliament, in that
 Point : As every thing had been com-
 municated to Her Allies, so did She
 frankly lay all Matters before them.
 Your Representatives saw, and approv-
 ed what was done ; they concurr'd in
 a perfect Harmony with Her ; they

gave Her * Thanks for delivering them * See the
 from a consuming Land War. You se- joint Ad-
 conded their Resolutions by numerous dress of
 Addresses from all Parts : You will not, both Houses
 you cannot forget, that this was the and the
 Sense of the Nation ; and the Obliga- Queen's
 tions you must therefore lie under to Answer.
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those industrious Patriots, who assisted the Queen in attaining the difficult Steps of Peace.

You shew'd your selves Men of Integrity in your Choice of them ; I know nothing can have perverted you since. There is not a Consideration of Moment enough to give you the least Reflexion, if you avoid giving Ear to Scandal and flagitious Suggestions, fomented on purpose to delude you. Let not the present Scene of Power intimidate you. You have a Prince on the Throne, who wants no Judgment, no excellent Qualities that are proper to govern by ; we are all equal Partakers of the Blessings of His Reign : He has promis'd it, and will make it good. Prefer therefore the Choice of good Men, with an impartial View to the Interest of your Country ; be directed by your own Thoughts, condemn Bribery, and look on the Effect of clandestine Solicitations to be the next thing to it : Do this, and you cannot err ; let your Voices flow from you freely ; shew the Firmness of true Britains, without hesitating at the Influence of a C——t Party ; you are in no Danger from their Resentment, and your Choice of good Members will make you yet securer.

Ic:

Let that Loyalty, ever conspicuous in the true Members of the Establish'd Church, be the *Compass* you steer by, and take that only Course to do your Country Service, to elect Members, who have always approved themselves in its true Interest, and conducted it hitherto through many perilous Storms.

I know the Hopes of the Party consist much in the Changes made at Court: And on this Occasion I must tell you, Gentlemen, 'tis the indubitate Right of the Sovereign to make free Choice of his Dependents, as it is to you in the Election of your Representatives: A Prince would have less Power than a Subject, that was debarr'd it. We are in this Case dutifully to suppose, that he chooses them for the best Ends of Government, and will discard them when they pursue the worst: A good Prince stands between his People and a rapacious M——y; He will protect them from their Gripes and Oppressions; and a good Parliament (the Effect of your own Power) assists Him in doing of it.

I hope this is a pardonable Digression, and that I shall not be stigmatiz'd for an Incendiary for thus honestly laying before you your Duty; the Obligations you lie under, both to God and your Coun-

try, as you respect your Religion and Liberties. But I must drop this Argument a while, to pursue the rest of the History of the *Four last Years*; and chiefly in those Points which our *Lunatick* calls *MISCARRIAGES*. I am sure, if any Man in his Senses writ that noble Piece, the *Whigs* would have much more Reason to be ashamed of it than they are, if it be possible for them to blush at any thing; but there I have a Doubt.

If I have shewn the Queen blameless in making Peace; I will shew Her yet less blameless in Her Conduct, with respect to Her Allies: And this brings me back to the Thread of the Story where I left off.

Her Majesty finding the E——r inflexible, as to the Measures of Peace, was under a very great Concern for his Affairs in *Catalonia*, where he had left his Confort and Troops, who seemed much expos'd. Having a Sense of this much at Heart, She thought of a Way to relieve them, and shew Her wonted Clemency to the *Catalans*: By Her Interest at *Utrecht*, She set on Foot a Treaty for the Evacuation of *Catalonia*. Her Aim herein was, to secure the return of the Empress, and the Imperial Troops;

Troops ; and since She could no longer support the *Catalans* by Her Arms, to provide for them by the Terms of Peace ; and to leave as little Room as possible for *France* or *Spain* to attack His Imperial Majesty, when the Treaties between Her and the States General were concluded with *France*. This Point She happily effected, and the E——r's Ministers comply'd with it ; which very probably they would not have done, any more than with the Treaty of a General Peace, had not the Benefit Her Majesty design'd Him been of real Service.

Whilst I am speaking of this, it will be necessary to clear the Conduct of the Queen, and Her Parliament, in respect to the *Catalans* ; of which such great Clamours have been rais'd against them, and made an Article of Reproach in the very History I am answering. Were there any Facts in the things they are charged with, I confess, it might well alarm you ; but you will see how little there is sometimes in these publick Outcries.

In the aforesaid Treaty for the Evacuation of *Catalonia*, there is this Article obtain'd for that People by the Queen :
 " There shall be granted and publish'd
 " in

“ in Favour of all the Subjects and In-
 “ habitants of *Catalonia*, &c. Clergy
 “ and Laity, of what Rank soever, a
 “ general Amnesty, and perpetual Obliv-
 “ ion of all that has been done during
 “ this War. And forasmuch as the Ple-
 “ nipotentiaries of the Power which
 “ withdraws his Troops out of *Catalo-*
 “ *nia*, &c. have insisted to obtain, before
 “ the Evacuation, the Enjoyment of
 “ the Privileges of the *Catalans*, and of
 “ the Subjects and Inhabitants of the
 “ the Isles of *Majorca* and *Ivica*. And
 “ since that Affair, by general Consent,
 “ is transferr’d to the Conclusion of the
 “ Peace, Her *Britannick* Majesty has
 “ made a reiterated Declaration, that
 “ She will use Her best Offices, to the
 “ end that the *Catalans* may enjoy
 “ their Privileges, &c. The most
 “ Christian King declaring, He
 “ would concur with the Queen to the
 “ same End.

In Consequence of this, by the Trea-
 ty of Peace between *Great Britain* and
Spain, there is not only an absolute Am-
 nesty, with a full Possession of all their
 Estates and Honours, but also the Pri-
 vileges of the *Castillians* granted to the
Catalans, whereby the People of *Catalo-*
nia were entituled to hold any Em-
 ployment

ployment in the *West-Indies*, or to trade directly thither, in as full and ample Manner as the People of *Castile*; from which they were formerly as much excluded as any Foreign Nation whatever. The Preservation of their antient Privileges being likewise preserved till a Treaty of Peace should come to be treated between the Emperor and *France*.

It needs no Proof, the Matter is plain enough, that their Ruine was occasioned by their own Obstinacy; they were even courted to submit; and that they did not, was owing to those who encouraged them to the contrary, and blindly gave them hopes of Relief, under a sense of which, they put themselves upon the foot of Subjects to the E——r, as they declared in their Answer to the Summons of the Duke de *Populi*; ‘ That they had shut up their
‘ Gates, to defend themselves against the
‘ ENEMY, being resolved to continue
‘ the War, out of an inviolable Fidelity
‘ which they always had for their Sovereign.

You see here that the Queen did not betray the poor *Catalans*, as the Party suggested: No, it was one of Her greatest Cares, that *Those who were more nearly concerned to help them*, had put it out of
Her

Her Power to do more for them. Should any Complaints be put up against the honest Gentlemen of the last Parliament on this Occasion; 'tis to be hoped you will draw proper Resolutions from what has been said.

The next Thing of any Moment, is the Affair of *Dunkirk*, thrown in among the Reproaches of the Administration under the late Queen. It must be consider'd, that were there not much more Chaff than good Grain among his Range of Articles, it would take up an infinite deal of Time to get through them all.

The Allies had consented indeed to send their Plenipo's to *Utrecht*; but they were much more intent on their Armies in the Field. They were piqu'd that the Queen would not concur with them in their Measures of Attacking the Enemy, when She had reason to fear, that Victory might have been of as bad consequence to Her as a Defeat; by facilitating the Design of those, who would willingly have wrested the Negotiations as well as the Ballance of *Europe*, out of Her Hands. So that finding the Enemy offered Her better Security than She had reason to expect from Her Friends, for Her particular Advantages in a Treaty

Treaty of Peace, She judg'd the Possession of *Dunkirk* of more Importance to the Interest of *Britain*, than that of *Quesnoy*.

It needs not be so great a Wonder then, that She withdrew Her Troops to perform the former ; nor that Her General complied with his Duty in this respect. The Peace ensued, and *Dunkirk*, by an Article of the most peculiar Concern to *Britain*, was agreed to be demolish'd, as it was, according to the Tenor of that Article.

I must observe to you here, that if the Party clamour'd on this Head, after the opening the Canal of *Mardyke*, much more did they do so before that Article broke out, and even before the necessary Means for the Demolition of *Old Dunkirk* could be effected. The first Cry, was at the Delay used therein ; and the Suspicion that the Design was not to perform it all. Their Conjectures were here defeated, the Ruine of it ensued, and Her Majesty refused to remit the least Punctilio, or memorable Article enjoin'd ; as you may see by Her Answer to Mr. *Tuggie's* Memorial. I remember the Party were then silent for a while on this Head : At length they took the Scent of *Mardyke*, and away
 E they

they went with it full Cry. Most Men believed there was something in it: The Queen, Her M——y, and Parliament, were censured: His present Majesty gives in a lively Memorial concerning it, and very justly insists on it, as an Infringement at least on that Part of the Treaty. This produces an Answer from *France*, which clears Her late Majesty's Conduct in this Point; and shews, that if contrary to the *Bona Fide* of the said Treaty, yet 'twas an Evasion which could not well be foreseen at the Time of signing the Peace, and left the Queen no other Means to remedy, had She lived, than what is transferr'd, by the general Right to Her Successor; and could not be call'd in Question till it had taken Place.

I must beg of you to read the said *Memorial* and *Answer*, for your further Information. 'Tis an Affair which ought to be handled with Circumspection; nor had I instanc'd it all, but as it is charged among the Reproaches against the late Queen; in Justification of whose excellent Memory, I think myself obliged to leave nothing unsaid that may be done with Justice.

Thus far as to the Allies, the Peace, the *Catalans*, *Dunkirk*, &c. As he has rang-
ed

ed his Artillery very irregularly, there might be the more Danger of doing random Mischief, were they not, for the most Part, ill discharged, and loaded with such impotent Stuff, as was not like to do much Execution; of this Denomination is the next Particular. In the last Reign, about Four Thousand Pounds per Annum were constantly sent to the Scotch Highlanders; though they were known to be, for the most Part, either rank Papists, or profest Jacobites. This happens to be very true; but wherein the Miscarriage consisted, is to be prov'd.

That you may your selves be Judges of this Matter, I will only give you a brief Sketch of what passed in the House of P——s on this Occasion; and leave the Consideration with you, how far it reflects upon the late *Queen's Administration*.

The 9th of April last, a Motion was made in that great Assembly, concerning this Affair. It was there declared, "That the *Scotch Highlanders* being, for the most Part, either rank *Papists*, or declar'd *Jacobites*; the giving them Pensions was, in Effect, keeping up *Popish* Seminaries, and fomenting Rebellion." In Answer to which it was affirm'd, "That in doing this Par-

“ ticular, they had only follow'd the
 “ Example of King *William*, who, after
 “ he had reduc'd the *Highlanders* of
 “ *Scotland*, thought fit to allow Yearly
 “ Pensions to the Chiefs or Heads of
 “ the Clans, to keep them quiet; and
 “ that if the then Ministry could be
 “ charg'd with any Mismanagement on
 “ that Article, it was only for retrench-
 “ ing and saving Part of that Hush-
 “ Money.” Nothing being alledg'd a-
 gainst this Apology, a Motion was made
 for returning the T——r the Thanks of
 the House, for his good Services; and it
 was unanimously resolv'd, “ That the
 “ House approv'd his Conduct in that
 “ Particular.” And the House of Com-
 mons resolv'd on an Address to Her
 Majesty, *That She would be pleas'd to lay*
before them an Account of what Money had
been paid to the Highland Clans in North
Britain, since the Year 1688; with the
Names of the respective Persons to whom a-
ny such Sums had been paid. By which,
 it seems, this was no new Affair.

See the
 Proceed-
 ings of
 Parlia-
 ment.

That the Pretender was favour'd un-
 der Her late Majesty's Administration,
 is another Charge of this Author's, which
 he enforces in his Title; *And a Scheme*
laid to bring in the Pretender. But first,
 the Queen had not got him removed
 out

out of *Lorain* : No, nor did She find it practicable, whilst a certain Prince refused to revoke his Passports, on the most pressing Solicitations that could be made; tho' it were easie to quote Arguments of Kindness the good Queen had shewn to that very Monarch, by many considerable Occasions. Much more might be said on this Head, as a Reflection on another side; but as I shall strain no Point that may seem with any intent to byass you; so I shall continue to lay nothing before you but what I give you authentick Quotations to justifie. It is certain that the Parliament Addressed the Queen to lay before them, *An Account of what Instances had been us'd with the E——r, for revoking the Passport granted him for the Pretender's Residing in the Dominions of the Duke of Lorain, or against renewing the same:* Which Her Majesty complied with, and likewise laid before the

* House a Copy and Translation of a Letter from the Bishop of *London*, to the Baron *Le Begue*, Resident to the States-General from the Duke of *Lorain*. Upon the full Perusal of which, it gave such Satisfaction to the Members, " That the House moved humbly to Address the Queen, returning the Thanks of
" the

* See the
Proceed-
ings of
Parliament
at this
Time.

“ the House to Her Majesty for the In-
 “ stances She had used for Removal of
 “ the Pretender from the Dominions of
 “ the D. of *Lorain*; and humbly desir-
 “ ing Her Majesty to insist upon, and
 “ renew Her Instances for his speedy
 “ Removal from thence.

There is another Branch of this Ar-
 ticle remaining, *viz.* *The Scheme laid to*
bring the Pretender in. You shall judge
 of this too, by what I will lay before
 you.

* See the
 Address
 and An-
 swer.

In *April*, the House of Lords * Ad-
 dress'd the Queen, “ That whenever She
 “ should judge it necessary, She would
 “ issue Her Royal Proclamation, pro-
 “ mising a Reward to any Person who
 “ should apprehend and bring the Pre-
 “ tender to Justice, in Case he should
 “ Land, or Attempt to Land, in *Great*
 “ *Britain*; and to insist further on his
 “ Removal from thence.” The Queen
 answer'd them: “ That it would be a
 “ real Strengthening to the Protestant
 “ Succession, as well as a Support to Her
 “ Government, that an end were put to
 “ those GROUNDLESS FEARS and JEA-
 “ LOUSIES, which were so industriously
 “ promoted. Adding, that She did not
 “ at present see any Occasion for such a
 “ Proclamation, but when She did, She
 “ would

would give Orders for having one issued.

A great Clamour was raised by the Party at this Answer; when, alas, it was only the good Queen's Tenderness to Her People, such a Proclamation coming suddenly and abruptly out, would have been apt to have alarmed them, and put the Nation under strange Apprehensions, which She was unwilling to do, without some present Occasion should make it requisite.

Accordingly, some little time after, the apprehending some Persons in *England* for Lifting Men in the Service of the Pretender, causing a just Alarm, the Queen, without staying for an Address of Parliament, immediately ordered such a Proclamation to be issued; and the next Day receiv'd the Thanks of Her Parliament for so doing. That very Parliament, whom he charges with laying Schemes to bring him in: Desiring the Queen to add a further Reward to the 5000*l.* therein given, the Reward of 100000*l.* which they assure Her they will cheerfully make Good, out of the first Aids to be given by Parliament. Pray give your selves the Trouble to read the *Addresses* of the Two Houses on this Occasion: There is a Spirit in them

them against the Pretender so apparent, as the best Remark is not capable to make out or reveal.

See his
Title.

I hope you will be satisfy'd, Her late Majesty's Administration is clear in this Point : The next Charge against the *last Four Years of Her Reign*, is a *Design to Destroy the ESTABLISH'D CHURCH*. I would be glad to know what Church he calls the *Establish'd Church* ? This is a Turn that the most extravagant of the Party have never given to the Matter. 'Tis a pleasant Irony, to represent the Church, as a Monster going to devour it self.

There is something so preposterous in it, that it admits of no manner of Answer, more than what may be drawn from the Refutation of it self. I can shew you indeed the Sense of the late Queen in the Matter : Her inviolable Affection to the *Establish'd Church*, call'd the *Church of England* ; Her inexpressible Piety, and tender Concern to promote its true Doctrine ; and Her unbounded Charity to its Poor Clergy. I find, under this Construction, the following Articles corroborated, between the late Queen and Her Parliament, for destroying the *Establish'd Church*.

1. If our Historians do not deceive us, she began her Reign with a noble Benefaction to the Church, by assigning a Part of her own Revenue for the Augmentation and Maintenance of the poor Clergy. And likewise granting a Remission of the first Fruits and Tenths to the Clergy of *Ireland*.

2. Another Article of the same Nature was, Her Endeavours to strengthen the Succession in the Protestant House of *Hanover*, in many Respects; particularly, the several Attempts she made to settle it on the same Foot in *Scotland*, on which it stood in *England*, tho' she could never effect it till the Commencement of the Union.

3. That likewise, in concert with Her Parliament, to destroy the Established Church, she caused 50 new Churches to be built for the Worship thereof.

4. The Encouragement given for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

5. Repeated Addresses for putting the Laws in Execution against Popish Recusants, &c.

6. A constant Vindication of the Clergy, and Promotion of Piety: with Laws for restraining excessive Gaming, Vice, Immorality and Prophaneness.

These, and many more Instances, might be produced of the Schemes laid under Her Majesty's Administration for destroying the Establish'd CHURCH.

As for Her late M——y and P——t, they are equally guilty on many important Articles, for endeavouring to destroy the Constitution, *sink the Trade of the Nation*, betray the Queen, and bring in the Pretender.

Witness first the Qualification Act, incapacitating

citating Men to serve in Parliament, who have not an Estate in Land, either in Possession, or certain Reversion ; perhaps the greatest Security that ever was contrived for preserving the Constitution.

2. Their corroborating with the Queen in bringing about the Peace, and for addressing Her Majesty to take particular Care of the Interest of Her own Subjects.

3. Their providing so liberally for Payment of the publick Debts, and putting a Stop to the scandalous Fraud of false Musters in the Guards.

4. Their giving 100000*l.* to the Relief of the *British* Colonies of *Nevis* and *St. Christophers*, when they had been miserably plundered by the *French*, and their relieving us from Foreign Beggars at Home.

5. Their inviolable Warmth in vindicating the Prerogative; and their constant Detestation of the scandalous Practice of villifying the Clergy.

6. Their passing an Act for Precedence of the Princess *Sophia*., the Elector Her Son, and the then Electoral Prince; and setting a Fine of 100000*l.* on the Head of the Pretender.

The next Charge is, for a Disrespect shewn to the illustrious House of *Hanover*. On Monday the 12th of July last, says the Author, a Writ was demanded by his Minister of the late Lord Chancellor Harcourt, for the Duke of Cambridge, now Prince of Wales, to come to Great Britain, and sit in the House of Peers. That Minister of his Electoral Highness, who asked for this Writ, was for no other Offence forbid the Court, who immediately departed to *Hanover*. 'Tis true, such a Writ was demanded, and could not by his Right of Peerage be refused : The
Offence

Offence the Queen conceived against that Minister, was not on Account of his demanding the Writ, but, as I conceive, that he applied himself to the Lord Chancellor, before he had opened himself to her Majesty. I cannot better clear up this Matter to you, than by directing you to read a brief Account of that Matter, together with the Queen's Letters on this Affair, which he terms disrespectful.

You will be Judges of that, as well as of the Reasons given therein against the Prince's coming, which I will not pretend to speak to.

You need not have more than what is contained in those Letters, to inform you what to judge of this Matter : Your honest Minds will form no ill Conceptions, and I would be far from insipiting you with any. This Affair had relation to the Dignity of the Crown, and the Privilege of Peerage, wherein your Right of Elections has no Concern. 'Tis a thing you can only hear, but not prevent ; the Choice of unqualified Members you may ; and were the Consequence of clearing up these Aspersions of no use, but to convict a scandalous Author, I would eat the Hand I write with, rather than use it to that End. 'Tis a Concern of a higher Nature, a Dread that, for want of Conviction, you might be imposed on to commit a fatal Error in your Choice, which will always be attended with Inconveniency and Danger, when it is bespoke by unfair and perhaps unjust Insinuations, violent Suggestions, and seditious Inuendos. These previously sown in the Minds of the People, may affect the Sense of the most honest and unguarded, to the Prejudice of the Common-weal. Were the Business of an Election of no more Con-

cern than that of a Wake or Cudgel-Play, it were no matter to whom you gave your Votes, to be Lords of the Misrule; the most facetious, unthinking Country Gentlemen, who had never studied the Good of their Country farther than that of stocking their Cellars on such useful Occasions, were the fittest Persons to represent you on those jolly Festivals, or Days of Mirth: But your Dependence in Parliament, your care of chusing honest, well-qualified Members to represent you there, is of more Signification than a gingling Morrice-Dance, or a Tub of *March* Beer.

You cannot be guilty of a greater Sin, than betraying your Country, giving up the Rights and Liberties of your Fellow Subjects, in the corrupted Breath of a clandestine Vote; and this you are sure to do, if you betray your Consciences; for I must take leave to observe to you, that those who do not stand on the same Level with you in respect of voting, have, nevertheless, the same honest, and common Right to their Liberties and Properties with the best of you. This ought to make you more careful in that you do not only wrong yourselves, with whom you may, with less Offence, make bold, but others, who may challenge Justice at your Hands. And perhaps, since I have called it a Sin, it may be of that Dye, as to extend their Claims for Justice farther than the Limits of *Westminster*. Such who are so injured, for want of a legal Claim in the *Constitution* to Vote for themselves, in Defence of their common Rights, are, in my Opinion, under little less Hardships, than those who are otherwise plundered, and oppressed for want of natural Power to defend themselves from Robbers: Nor
can

can you expect in this Case, but that your Honesty will be as much reflected on as your Understanding.

It is almost impossible to say any thing new on this Subject. Men who write honestly on one Proposition, will as naturally fall into the same Thoughts, as lesser Streams do into the general Current.

From all that has ever been said, it is plain, That Men of disinterested Principles, good Characters, great Sobriety, sufficient Estates, and untainted Honour, are fittest to be chose : Such as are just to all Men in their Dealings, religious Observers of the Laws of the Land, and of the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of their fellow Subjects. That always have, or are like to shew themselves frugal of the Nations Money, from the happy Inference of their Oeconomy in the Management of their own ; and maintaining the Honour and Dignity of Parliaments, both by their own Morals, and the Support of publick Credit. And finally, that they be such as have a profound Veneration for *Royalty* and *Crowned Heads* ; and for the true *Establi'sh'd Church*. Men, who do not only honour it by their Communion with it ; but in standing up in a zealous and just Defence of its holy Rites, and truly Orthodox Clergy. Men may frequent the Service of the Church, and yet act contrary to the Interest of it upon all other Occasions ; such are they, who coolly give up the Deceney of its *Ordinances*, and the Reputation and Dignity of its Clergy : Who are content to comply with its Worship, as it is become a National Rule ; but are under

no

no particular concern to acquire any Glory to it, or to keep any Scandal from it,

If, this be bespeaking your Attention, I hope no body will find Fault with what I have said ; the Matter being almost general : For I must tell you, that in respect to *Parties*, there are Men of both Sides unworthy of your Choice ; as well those, who will talk much for the Church, yet scandalize it in their Lives and Morals ; as those, who are constantly devout, yet betray it in their Indifference to its Welfare.

Thus much for your Information, Gentlemen : I will for once be so vain to conclude, that I have the Thanks of every honest ENGLISH MAN for what I have said ; and it remains to you to cultivate the Sense of it.

As to the other Branch of this Pamphlet, *The Vindication of the late Queen, &c.* I hope I shall be thought to have given some tolerable account of it in the most material Particulars, at least sufficient to supplant all Prejudice that it might have laid before you. There are other Points, wherein the Author Fights in Armour, and one cannot come so readily to attack him. You must therefore have Patience, as well as I to wait for his Proofs, which, he says, on many Occasions he can produce, if it were necessary.

Let him shew, That *there was a Design to reform the Army, and instead of Protestant Officers, to put Irish Men in their Commands ; notwithstanding, he says, he can produce a List, if required, of those who were to be turned out in Great Britain and Ireland : And this I am the more earnest with him to do, because some such Assertion being Printed since the Death of the Queen, the Publisher fell un-*

der the Displeasure of the Regency for it; and I could never hear that the Party were able to make it out.

Let him shew, That *there was a private League carrying on, in order to hasten and support the intended Restoration.* Because after very much noise of such a Thing, there was never the least Evidence appeared of it.

Let him shew, *the Forwardness of a Rebellion in Scotland, and when the Highlanders appeared in Arms;* because it is a piece of News very new to some People; and if he does, let him shew what Hand the Queen, or Her M——y, had in it.

Let him shew, That Praying for our present Sovereign King *George*, by the Name of *Elector of Brunswick* only, was designed as an Affront; because I take it to be conformable to the usual Conciseness of the Liturgy, and that Her Majesty and Her M——y were endued with other Notions.

Let him shew these, and many other Things which want proving, before he ought to gain any Credit; because he that raises such a publick Bank of News without Foundation, is like to break without being able to make one honest Payment.

If I were conscious his Madness could have any effect upon honest Men, I could clearly shew you, that those very Persons, who have the Honour to be aspersed by him, were chiefly such as had an active Hand in the Revolution, and strenuously appear'd in Defence of the Constitution in the worst of times. 'Twas they who procured us the two strongest Bulwarks of the *British Liberty, the Treason Bill, and the Act for Triennial Parliaments.* 'Twas they who have always been for saving the publick Money,

Money, by calling loudly every Session for the Aids and Estimates of the Army and Fleet, and erecting a Commission to enquire into them. 'Twas they who made the Act for the further Limitation of the Crown in the Protestant Line; and another, for attaining the pretended Prince of Wales, and all his Adherents. 'Twas they, who on the late Queen's Accession to the Throne, made good the Deficiencies of the former Reign, and had ever a tender regard for the Honour of Parliamentary Engagements.

'Twas they who, in the ill State of our Credit, advanc'd the Value of Exchequer Bills, by raising them to a par with Specie: Who made the Act for disqualifying Members to sit in the House without sufficient Estates.

'Twas they, who, in Honour of the Church, and to the Encrease of Religion and Piety, passed an Act for the building 50 new Churches, with a suitable Fund for that excellent Work.

'Twas they who procured Peace, and delivered the Nation from a consuming Land-War, for which they had the just Applauses of the People; and passed a Vote for setting 100000*l.* on the Head of the Pretender. As I have told you where I found them, so I shall now tell you where I leave them, viz. Passing an Act for the better Support of his present Majesty's Household, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown: moving for an Addition of 300000*l.* per Ann. to be given with it, and voting dutiful and loyal Addresses for the speedy inviting his Majesty into these Kingdoms.

These are the Men, Gentlemen, you are cautioned against at the next Election. You will consider of their Crimes, and punish them in their Choice, as you see convenient.

I am Yours

C. B.



